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SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART XIII

"STRESS AND STRAIN IN THE CABINET"

(27 Jul - 30 Oct 1937)
Vol I

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THE SAIONJI - HARADA MEMOIRS

PART THIRTEEN: STRESS AND STRAIN IN THE CABINET

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Chapter 248
(27 July 19??)

KONOYE Gropes for Help

Translated by T/Sgt Shigeo Fukuyama

From the 19th, I rested for two days because of ill health. I had intended to go to Gotemba, but I went to Yugawara instead.

There was something wrong with the situation in Tokyo; therefore, on the 21st, the day before I had intended to go to Gotemba, I returned once again to Tokyo. I met the Minister of Home Affairs and he told me: "The problem in North China will not be settled with only a local settlement of the incident. A basic and sound settlement is necessary. First of all, in accordance with what the Premier said, it is necessary to make it clear that Japan entertains no wild ambitions and that in itself, this incident requires a diplomatic settlement. Furthermore, there are very few politicians in the present cabinet. For example, Foreign Minister HIROTA is too conservative and will not commit himself on even such an important crisis as this. In looking at this, even an inexperienced person as I would feel very impatient of his actions. I am worried because it might become necessary for me to take the initiative and make a statement regarding this problem."

After I took my leave of the Minister of Home Affairs, I met the Premier. He told me: "In the present cabinet, there are many ministers who have practical talents; however, these ministers concentrate solely on their respective problems and there are very few who would discuss the general political situation with me in the capacity of a Minister of State instead of as a representative of their respective Ministries. For example, in regards to the problem of dispatching troops to North China, there was no one who would become the propelling force in this discussion. Therefore, it was inevitable

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that each of the Ministers in the War, Navy and For ign Ministers' Conference was having difficulties and I thought of having Minister of Home Affairs BABA join this conference in order to speed up matte s, but when I did add BABA, the other Ministers protes ed: 'Why did you put the Minister of Home Affairs into this conference?' I am worried because both the Foreign and War Ministers are too reserved." The Premier felt forlorn and helpless as he explained the situation to me.

As in the past, I became the advisor to the Premier. I was a good listener to his complaints and as a result heart-to-heart talks were constantly held. The fact that there was no one in the cabinet whom he could call a true friend and have intimate and frank discussions with was the cause of great dissatisfaction to the Premier. Therefore, I suggested to the Premier that he obtain the aid of Marquis KIDO by making him the President of the Planning Department. He seemed to be very much in favor of this idea and expressed the feeling that he would welcome KIDO's aid and tackle this situation together. The Premier told me: "If that is decided, I would like to ask Prince SAIONJI and have KIDO set up."

Furthermore, I asked the Premier about the general situation in the Foreign Ministry. KONOYE told me: "The Foreign Ministry has become disgusted with the conservative attitude taken by HIROTA and a condition of sabotage prevails among the personnel." However, everyone is actually doing his best, especially in such an important time as this. It seems that those who would oppose HIROTA are mentioning him in a bad light to the Premier.

I went to Gotemba on the 22nd and made a general report to SAIONJI. The Prince was in favor of setting up KIDO as

the President of the Planning Department. However, he said: "Why have me talk to KIDO. Let KONOYE talk to him. However, just because KIDO is set up does not mean that the Army will quickly change their stand. As a matter of fact we cannot anticipate what the Army will do." I told him, "It's only that KONOYE deserves our sympathy. He is all alone and at a time like this when he is doing all he can to fulfill his job, one realizes the necessity of obtaining someone's aid for him. That is why I talked to KONOYE and he himself heartily agreed with this."

In regards to the North China problem, the Prince said: "Even among the Chinese, there are some who are more clever than the Japanese. Not only that but there are people of the other countries besides China who have seen through the intentions of Japan. Therefore, extreme caution is necessary. If Japan does not watch her step, she will be made a fool by the other countries. When I told SAIONJI: "KONOYE has told the Emperor: 'There is something incomprehensible in the fact that the Emperor attends a trivial meeting of the Privy Council: For example, a meeting to discuss the improvements of a part of the Overseas Affairs Ministry: and does not attend the more important cabinet meetings.'" SAIONJI laughingly replied: "The reason the Emperor presides over the Privy Council meetings is because the Privy Council is convened by the Emperor's presentation of bills for consultation to the Council. (Should the Emperor be requested to preside at the Cabinet meetings) is the Premier then going to seek the Emperor's advice? I then said: "Premier KONOYE is thinking about sending Foreign Minister HIROTA to Nanking in order to bring about a general conversion of our foreign policy in China." SAIONJI said: "Isn't it much

better for KONOYE himself to go to China instead of sending HIROTA who is distrusted by China?" After we had talked a little more on the general state of affairs, I returned home.

I returned to Tokyo on the 23rd and attended the session ofthe Diet. Later that day I met the Premier and told him about my talk with SAIONJI. Regarding the problem of setting KIDO up as the President of the Planning Department; if a certain amount of revision in government organizations is not made, the Minister of State would more or less automatically step into the position of the President of the Planning Department under existing conditions. Therefore, if we do not make it so that a person other than the Minister of State can become the President of the Planning Department, the problem of setting KIDO up will become difficult. Realizing this, the Premier intends to make a revision in the government organizations and then take care of the KIDO problem.

On the 23rd, I had lunch with YUKI, the former Finance Minister, and ITO, Bunkichi. We talked about the internal condition of the KONOYE cabinet and how we could minimize the worries of the Premier. That night I invited half of the Directors and former Directors of the Kosei-kai of the House of Peers and had a general discussion.

Early on the morning of the 24th, I went to call on Minister of Home Affairs BABA. BABA said: "Since yesterday, the Foreign Minister has been saying: 'At a time like this, we must strike with a broad fofeign policy,' and has changed his attitude completely. I believe that this is a very good thing."

Later I met Foreign Minister HIROTA and asked him about

the various conditions. He said: "For the time being, I would like to carry out a non-expanding settlement of this incident; however, since any direct negotiations with the Army on my part have been unfavorable, I have been negotiating with them through the Navy Minister. From now on I would like to act without taking the Army's feelings into too much consideration. But this is a very difficult problem. Regardless of this, the fact that the interior of the Army is unsettled is very disadvantageous. Moreover, just after the incident occurred, WACHI of the General Staff of the Tientsin Army returned to Japan and gave a report on the Tientsin Army. He objected very strongly to the actions taken by the government. The reason for this was that when the incident first arose, the Tientsin Army believed that they would be able to settle this incident by themselves. However, the government became greatly alarmed and tried to pass a bill in the cabinet to send three Divisions there. When the Tientsin Army heard about this, they became very indignant over it. It seems that they strongly denounced the fact that the cabinet should become alarmed over this situation. Soon thereafter, WACHI returned to Tientsin. YAMAMOTO, the Navy Vice-Minister, said: 'The reason why WACHI was recalled to Japan was because if he were left over there, he would cause tr trouble for us. We figured that it would take him several days to return to Japan and that in the meantime we would be able to settle the incident there. Although we took advantage of his absence and tried in every way to settle the incident, he flew back to Japan and our objective could not be accomolished. Moreover, it would have been unfavorable if he started causing trouble while he was in Japan, so we decided to send him back. At any rate, the situation now is

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that he will be going back on the transfer taking place on the 1st of August.' It is a very troublesome problem. I (HIROTA) told Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO: 'For the Army to mislead Japan for the purpose of one General Staff member is a very unforgivable thing.' However, this merely shows the pitiful condition of the lack of control within the Army."

On the night of the 24th, Gen. TSUCHI came over and told me: "A certain MIYAZAKI was arrested by the Kempei-Tai in Kobe. When he was arrested he said: 'I am a secret envoy of AKIYAMA, HIRANUMA and KONOYE.' What is the relationship between KONOYE and AKIYAMA?" I told him, "KONOYE's father and AKIYAMA were very intimate. In a way he is trying to elevate KONOYE at the present time for his own purposes. This has been the cause of great worry to the Premier: however, there is no particular indication whatsoever that KONOYE is using AKIYAMA or that he in turn is being taken in by AKIYAMA."

When I spoke of MIYAZAKI being arrested to KONOYE on the 26th, he told me: "That matter has been worrying me. There was no one other than MIYAZAKI to send as the advisor to CHIANG Kai-shek and when AKIYAMA met the Chinese ambassador he told him: 'We are sending MIYAZAKI to Nanking as the secret envoy of KONOYE, HIRANUMA and myself.' When the Chinese Ambassador sent a telegram in code to the Nanking Government relating this fact, this was intercepted by the Army. I knew something was wrong when MIYAZAKI was detained by the Army in Kobe, so I told him, 'Postpone your trip.' However, he had already been arrested by the Kempei-Tai."

Around the 24th, 25th and the 26th, more trouble arose in North China and the Japanese Army had taken a beating from the Chinese Army. Therefore, angered by their losses, the Air Corps had bombed the military installations around Peiping.

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Chapter 247
(4 August 1937)

How Far into China?

Translated by S/Sgt. George Kakehashi

On the 26th, after the Diet meeting, I had ITO, Bunkichi and YUKI, the former Finance Minister, come over to my home. We talked on various topics while we dined. There was a story circulating for the past few days to the following effect: "IKEDA's health is still not good and he has been confined to his bed during the present situation. Thus, there have been a number of ambitious individuals who have gathered together others with the same ideas and are trying to take the matters of the financial circles into their own hands. They have started a discussion within the Diet to the effect that: 'It is inexcusable for the Governor of the Central Bank (The Bank of Japan) to be absent during the present crisis.' If this matter should become involved, IKEDA will suffer. Therefore, if IKEDA's health is vital to the nation, it would be better to have him resign and allow a man recommended by IKEDA take over before any malicious rumors begin to circulate. I have been concerned about this matter for some time. Since there are men like former Finance Minister BABA in the present cabinet who are trying to draw their followers from among those who would be easily controlled, that matter was also a cause of great worry to all concerned. I mentioned that to ITO and YUKI, and furthermore, I also had a talk with Premier KONOYE that night. The Premier said: 'If possible, I would like to do it that way and have former Finance Minister YUKI made the Governor of the Central Bank (The Bank of

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Japan). Finance Minister KAYA is also worried about that and I would like to have someone tell IKEDA about that.' Therefore, I said to the Premier: 'As I am intimately acquainted with him from before, I don't think that IKEDA would doubt my motives. I will go and see him by all means.'"

On the following day (25th) I went to Oiso and had a talk with IKEDA. He appeared to be very weak and he clearly stated: "I did not think that my illness would continue this long and it is as you say. I had intended to ask ARIGA to speak directly to the Premier, but as he does not know his own mind, I was just thinking of asking you to do that for me even though it would be of much trouble to you. Do you think that it would be all right to presume that Premier KONOYE would understand this situation?" So I said: "It is all right. So long as Premier KONOYE understands that it is your intention to have YUKI succeed you, that is, you would not go so far as to recommend him, but that you merely intend to have him succeed you, then it will be all right." IKEDA said: "I would like to have TSUSHIMA continue as the Vice-Governor."

The next day, IKEDA called TSUSHIMA and told him that he (IKEDA) was going to resign and that it is likely that YUKI would succeed him as the Governor. The following day (27th), the change in the Governor of the Bank of Japan was effected through the Finance Minister, and former Finance Minister YUKI become the Governor of the Bank of Japan. This news was warmly received throughout the country.

When I met Premier KONOYE on the 29th, he was greatly

worried saying: "If the Army and the Navy Ministers keep on trying to figure out each other's intentions, they will get nowhere regardless of how long they keep that up."

Later, when I met the Foreign Minister, he said: "The incident in Peiping will be settled without too much trouble. Just yesterday, the British and the American Ambassadors came to me and asked: 'There are reports that there will be an all-out attack on Peiping. Is that true?' So I told them: 'There are absolutely no such reports. There are about 10,000 Japanese there. Even if they were to escape into certain areas about the foreign diplomatic establishments, isn't it a certainty that we would not attack that vicinity?' The situation in Tientsin seems to be somewhat confused, but we would like to minimize that matter as much as possible."

I met the Premier later and he said: "A written petition for the movement of establishing a new administration in North China has been issued recently by both MINAMI, the Governor-General of Korea, and Gen. UYEDA, the Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army. Of course, we need not accept this; however, I think that we may presume this to be a premise to a movement to overthrow the Cabinet."

On the 30th, I went to Gotemba and made a general report to the Prince. He was quite concerned over the articles appearing in the newspapers and said: "The fact that the newspapers are indiscriminately writing articles of extreme ostracism to incite public feeling is very discouraging." He continued: "AKIYAMA, Teisuke is no good. When ITO became the Premier before, there

was a time when he was nearly deceived by AKIYAMA. Therefore, I warned him: 'It would be disastrous for you to employ such a man.' Nevertheless, and this is confidential by the way, Prince ITO went ahead and introduced this AKIYAMA to Count YAMAMOTO. I was not as intimate with YAMAMOTO as I was with ITO, so I did not meddle in his affairs too much. However, I did tell him: 'Be careful not to be taken in by AKIYAMA.' YAMAMOTO said: 'There is nothing to worry about,' and assured me that he was using AKIYAMA to good advantage." The Prince also told me about the time he went to Manchukuo on the eighth day after he had set up his Cabinet (the first SAIONJI Cabinet) and became the Premier. This was just after the Russo-Japanese war. He said: "At that time, in accordance with my desires, the late Count TERAUCHI loaned me his right-hand man, a very intelligent soldier from whom I was able to receive invaluable services. I heard that this soldier passed away some time ago." The Prince continued: "At any rate, it would be better if KONOYE and his group do not become too intimate with AKIYAMA."

I returned to Oiso and on the 2nd, Gen. TERAUCHI came to visit me. He said: "Of course, we will send our troops, but we are being careful so that we do not become too deeply involved."

On the 3rd, I went to Tokyo and met the Premier and the Cabinet members. MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, said: "On the 2nd, His Imperial Highness, the Chief of the General Staff, was received in audience by the Emperor. He informed the Emperor: 'We will send troops up to the Paoting line; however, we will not expand this issue any further.' His

Majesty was well aware of Premier KONOYE's constant worry over that so he summoned the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and said to him: 'The Chief of the General Staff has just informed me of his plans. I know that KONOYE is anxious to know about that so will you inform him of that matter right away.' Therefore, I went to see KONOYE at his private residence on the night of the 2nd and conveyed the Emperor's message."

On the 2nd, a change in Army personnel was effected, and Prince HIGASHIKUNI was made the Commander of the Air Service Headquarters. This was the plan of ISHIHARA and the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau. The placing of the Prince into this position may be considered as a plan to enlarge the Air Forces.

On the 3rd, I met the Premier and told him: "I met GOTO, Ryunosuke a few days ago, and he said: 'It was said to send MATSUKATA, Kojiro to China and have him negotiate with CHIANG Kai-shek.' However, it would be a terrible mistake and a dismal failure for you to use MATSUKATA at this time. I don't think such a thing would happen by any means. However, when I said to GOTO: 'He (MATSUKATA) is no good,' GOTO said: 'Is that so!'" Premier KONOYE said: "Well, I thought that MATSUKATA is no good and was considering sending TOYAMA. TOYAMA and CHIANG Kai-shek have been on good relations from long before. If the matter comes to the point where CHIANG Kai-shek and I will clasp our hands, then the Rightist group, which is advocating for the establishment of a new administration in North China, will begin to clamor. In order to meet the demands with a suitable man, won't it be better to use TOYAMA? If it is TOYAMA, then he is intimate with HIROTA.

Won't it be better to send both HIROTA and TOYAMA?" In my mind I did not think that it was a very good idea, but considering it as an opinion, I did not oppose it right at that moment. Then on the night of the 3rd from seven to ten o'clock at Hachiryu, Premier KONOYE and I leisurely conversed on various matters. I was told of many aimless complaints of the people so it wasn't much of a conversation.

Then, when I visited KIDO's residence on the evening of the 3rd, he said: "When I met Prince HIGASHIKUNI at golf yesterday, he said: 'I wonder just how far the Army intends to go. It is about time that they stop at some discreet point.' So I (KIDO) said: 'It will be better for His Imperial Highness to freely encourage it.' It will be just fine to have you (HARADA) go, so will you speak to His Imperial Highness?" Thus, I (HARADA) decided to see His Imperial Highness, Prince HIGASHIKUNI on the morning of the 4th.

Chapter 248
(12 August 1937)

Arita Briefed on Case

Translated by S/Sgt George Kakehashi

At nine o'clock on the morning of the 4th, I went to see Prince HIGASHIKUNI and spoke to him. His Highness said: "Since you have not come for a long time, I was wondering what had happened." I said: "I congratulate you on this happy occasion, but I have been thinking right along from the beginning that for a member of the Imperial family to hold an administrative position is not very favorable. Should it be such administrative duties as on the Board of Field Marshals and Fleet Admirals, an army commander, or a division commander; then as His Highness, you may have some interest. But actually, I am opposed to your taking that new position. Then too, Your Highness who is to accept that position, is somewhat on the reserved side. Again, those who are to work under you will regard you in a different manner from that of the ordinary superior and will become very reserved and not speak up as they should. Therefore, as long as you have become the Commander of the Air Service Headquarters, you must have your subordinates speak up as much as possible when they seem to be reticent. Again, unless you readily speak out without reservation on matters of importance along the line of work, I believe that it would be increasingly unfavorable for you to remain in that position. Especially, in regards to such as the present incident, it is important for you as a member of the Supreme War Council to speak in regards to the control of the Army. It would be more than just aiding His Majesty as a member of the Imperial family. Originally this matter of a member of the Imperial family enlisting in the Army is as I may have mentioned previously. However, as to what extent the military forces are His Majesty's Army or

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His Majesty's Navy, we cannot dispute that they are truly His Majesty's Army and Navy. As you are enlisting in order to reassure aid to His Majesty, I think that you must consider that point very carefully." Furthermore: "The Chinese problem has become quite troublesome, but I think that there were many ways of settling the matter before it became this complicated. I think that the various hitches come in in the fact that the actual control of the Army is not in hand." His Highness was worried and said to me: "Just how far does the Army intend to go? Such things as thrusting a foot into a muddy rice field is from any angle merely inviting national loss, isn't it? Just what is the limit, and where would it be better to stop?" Hence, I related various matters of concern to him; however, it seemed to me that His Highness was also greatly concerned about diplomacy.

Then I left His Highness and went to the House of Peers. There I happened to meet the War Minister, so I asked: "How was it?" He replied: "It's quite complicated. Circumstances will be better to have ARITA go to Tokyo." When I saw the Foreign Minister, he said: "At present we are trying to settle the issue in some way." The Navy Minister was of the same opinion. Moreover, when I visited Prince KONOYE at his private residence, he happened to be confined to his bed. As it was nothing serious, we conversed at length on various matters. He (KONOYE) said: "The opinions of the junior officials of the Military Affairs Bureau of the General Staff Headquarters and the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Bureau of the Foreign Ministry are to be assembled and brought to me. I think that, perhaps, it will be settled. Thus, that issue will be settled, but as for the China problem, I don't know. Anyway, I intend to send FUNAZU to Shanghai and an

elderly man named TSUKUDA to China."

On the 5th I went to Gotemba and reported on the general course of developments. When I related the ideas of KONOYE to the Prince, the Prince did not have any significant opinion to express and merely listened quietly on this day.

Then I returned on the 6th and on the morning of the 7th, I visited the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at his private residence. I said: "The Prince said: 'How would it be for His Majesty to go to Hayama?'" The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: "For His Majesty to move amid these incidents, which crop up now from right and left, would be inconvenient. However, I am considering having the Premier and the Army and Navy Ministers suggest the trip to His Majesty, when the opportune moment arrives." The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal continued: "The Minister of the Imperial Household is also greatly concerned regarding the China problem. It seems that the Grand Chamberlain is also gravely concerned and has come to me voicing various arguments."....."His Majesty is very pleased with KONOYE. When the Premier has done well, His Majesty is well pleased. However to say when the Premier has done well is when His Majesty truly confides in the Premier. His Majesty's confidence in Prince KONOYE is very sincere." Thus, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal also complimented KONOYE. However, at the same time, he sympathized saying: "I regret very much that he is confronted by such situations as these."

Then I left on the night of the 8th and went to Hakone. On the 8th I wired Ambassador ARITA at Lake Yamanaka and arranged for him to come to Count KABAYAMA's villa in Gotemba. Then I borrowed Count KABAYAMA's mansion for luncheon and there together with Ambassador ARITA I conversed as we dined. I said:

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Arita Briefed on Case

"When I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal yesterday morning, he was greatly concerned about diplomacy and said: 'I want a man who would be a man-behind-the-scenes and comment on everything he notices, and at the same time, be an advisor in regards to what I intend to ask of the Foreign Minister and to the interpretation of the Foreign Minister's speech. Ambassador ARITA is just the man, so to have him go to Tokyo would be very favorable.' The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was insistent about that." "Premier KONOYE also said that unless there is someone who will intervene between the War Minister, the Foreign Minister and himself, telling the War Minister unofficially and mediating with the Foreign Minister at times, it has come to the point of checking and counter-checking each other, which is very unsatisfactory at this crucial time. We need someone who will contrive to have the War Minister speak resolutely with the Premier, and at the same time enable the Foreign Minister to speak frankly with the Premier. Since it was decided that an individual such as yourself is the right man, won't you go to Tokyo once?" Ambassador ARITA said: "For an irresponsible man like me to go and tell a responsible man this and that is not very agreeable. In the first place I hate to intrude." So I said: "It is not a question of whether you intrude or not. An individual like yourself is needed and I would like to have you go to Tokyo to persuade the War Minister to speak more intimately with KONOYE, and also to speak to the Foreign Minister as much as possible." Then he (ARITA) said: "The fact is that MATSUI and HONJO are at Lake Yamanaka. They had gone to Tokyo and brought back various information. They are saying: "For SAIONJI, Koichi to have gone to Shanghai and met SUNG Tzu-wen (T.V. SOONG) was the plan of

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IWANAGA, Chief Secretary KAZEKI, and you." ARITA continued: "That is a matter of which I had no knowledge, and it was after IWANAGA said to send Koichi, that I became aware of it. Of course, the Prince is not aware of such a story so....Somehow, it seems as though they are sending an individual like the private ambassador sent out at the time of the TANAKA Cabinet by TANAKA, Giichi. It is not favorable to use confidential ambassadors." Then I said: "That isn't so. I think that there was at least an understanding with the Information Bureau of the Foreign Office." ARITA became worried and said: "It is very unsatisfactory for the military and other circles to hear that the IWANAGA group is incessantly saying: 'The administrative powers are to be returned to the civilians. Ultimately, the militaristic administration is going to be the people's and the official's administration! In reality, if such a thing can be accomplished, it will be fine, but actually as a problem, it is unsatisfactory to mention its impossibilities." Finally, Ambassador ARITA said: "Then in that case, I shall go to Tokyo." He was then to return on the 10th. Then I said to Ambassador ARITA: "At any rate, please see KIDO." He replied, "Of course, I will see him."

When I (HARADA) spoke to KIDO in Tokyo, he also said: "By all means, I will see Ambassador ARITA." On the night of the 10th I invited both KIDO and Ambassador ARITA to my home for supper and we dined together. From six until about nine o'clock we conversed on various matters, but Ambassador ARITA was very perplexed by the failure of the recent China question. At the time of the deployment of troops to Tsinan, he was the chief of the Asiatic Bureau, and when the troops were to be withdrawn, he ran into many difficulties. It was

about May, just when the weather was beginning to get warm. The troops had to be left as they were during the negotiations. If the troops were to be left as they were, then the discipline of the troops would become demoralized, the morale would become lower and the sufferings from heat would increase. Wanting to withdraw its troops, the Army could not and was very perplexed. Thus, he (ARITA) fears that this issue on hand may grow bigger than that of Tsinan, and is very concerned." Then to KIDO, he (ARITA) also said: "In all respects, it is very perplexing unless we have the Premier confer with the Foreign Minister and employ the personnel."

When I went and reported to Prince SAI[illegible]JI on the 8th, he was constantly worried about that matter. The Prince had said: "After all, it is unsatisfactory unless we still pursue the proper course. No matter to what extent we go a[illegible] lon- as we have the relationship with the Foreign Office, it is unsatisfactory unless we consult with the Foreign Office on all related matters." I spoke to KIDO of the fact that he (Prince) had made such a strong statement. Ambassador ARITA was expressing a similar opinion. Then KIDO told Ambassador ARITA of the actual condition between War Minister SUGIYAMA, Foreign Minister HIROTA and Premier KONOYE.

According to the story, which Ambassador heard from Gen. MATSUI at Lake Yamanaka: "Isn't it so that MIYAZAKI was secretly sent to Nanking, that is to CHIANG Kai-Shek, but was apprehended by the Kempei-Tai. Ultimately, Premier KONOYE apologized to the Commandant of the Kempei-Tai. Furthermore, I heard that Premier KONOYE appealed to the Commandant and barely had MIYAZAKI released." However, that story was without foundation, and actually, SUGIYAMA said: "That may be fine," when he saw Premier KONOYE in regards to MIYAZAKI and that may have

been the fatal blunder. But it was not a fore-planned action, and the code telegram sent by our Ambassador to China to the Nanking government stated that upon the decision of the President of the House of Peers, HIRANUMA, Premier KONOYE and AKIYAMA, Teisuke, MIYAZAKI was to be sent. However, the code telegram was intercepted by the Army and the Commandant of the Kempei-Tai regarded MIYAZAKI as a spy and apprehended him in Kobe. KONOYE had previously spoken about this matter to the War Minister and in spite of the fact that the police had tried to prevent MIYAZAKI from boarding the ship, it was through an understanding with the War Minister. Thus, Premier KONOYE had misconstrued the action of the War Minister in having the Kempei-Tai apprehend MIYAZAKI. Consequently, KIDO and others are saying that it is deplorable to have a breach widen between the Premier and the War Minister. I mentioned such matters to ARITA and said: "Again, on one hand, Foreign Minister HIROTA and others do not express their opinions at all. They just merely express the simple appropriate greetings for the occasion and that factor was annoying to Premier KONOYE." It was after nine o'clock that Ambassador ARITA returned to Tokyo. KIDO also returned to his villa in Zushi.

On the following morning I went to Tokyo and arranged to have luncheon at the Hachiryu with ARITA, KIDO and MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. ARITA returned and early on the following morning, visited the War Minister and conversed on various matters including the War Minister's feelings towards KONOYE. At noon he came to the Hachiryu, but before he came that is about ten-thirty o'clock, he was granted an audience by the Emperor. After that he spoke to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal for about an hour on various matters.

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Arita Briefed on Case

Then at noon KIDO, MATSUDAIRA, and ARITA came to the Hachiryu, and we inquired of ARITA on various issues. ARITA brought a complaint saying: "When I met the War Minister this morning, it seemed that Premier KONOYE's intentions are not very clear to the War Minister. The War Minister said: 'I heard later that Premier KONOYE met Maj. Gen. ISHIHARA and other section chiefs the other day. Though Premier KONOYE himself has mentioned such matters to me many a time, the General Staff Headquarters is going on the policy of not concerning itself with politics. Thus, to have the Premier call and meet the departmental and section chiefs directly is very annoying.'" He continued: "In regards to MIYAZAKI or AKIYAMA, Teisuke of the other day, the War Minister at first thought that the Premier had taken such actions upon consulting with the Foreign Minister. So, when the War Minister asked the Foreign Minister directly, the reply was: 'That isn't exactly it.' Thus, while the War Minister was thinking it to be strange, such an incident broke out. Consequently, the War Minister called the Commandant of the Kempei-Tai and said: 'At such a time, why don't you consult me first before you make any arrest?' The Commandant defiantly said: 'What's wrong with what I do with official authority?' MIYAZAKI and such men are like spies and were always frequenting the Chinese Embassy. He was under close surveillance from before. Moreover, MIYAZAKI had said: 'I am going to Lake Yamanaka', and then tried to board ship at Kobe. What is wrong about apprehending such an individual with official authority?'"

"Then I (ARITA) encouraged the War Minister to ask Premier KONOYE of his true opinions and to speak frankly to him. The War Minister said: 'I'll think about it.' It

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is not improper for the War Minister to be concerned and since it seems that whatever the War Minister had said has been heard several times by the opposition members such as KOBATA and ARAKI, I began to take precautions." However, ARITA confronted the War Minister and said: "Unless you approach the Premier and as long as you don't approach him, you will be subject of great controversy. During the course of such conversations, slander will out, but don't mind them at all. With no regard for myself, there must be no secrets between the Premier and the War Minister. If such things are heard, say: 'To say such things is indeed annoying.' It is all right to reprimand the Premier, but speak frankly on whatever you think as the right of the War Minister to the Premier".

Furthermore, Ambassador ARITA met again with the War Minister in the evening and had a long conversation. He said that he was going to return to Lake Yamanaka on the morning of the 13th. ARITA said: "I spoke about my conversation with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal to the War Minister, but an hour's visit wasn't enough."

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Sainoji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 249
(20 August 1937)

Terauchi Vexed with Cabinet

Translated by S/Sgt George H. Kakehashi

When I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at my residence, he said: "Lt. (jg) OYAMA was killed. Thus, at Shanghai no settlement was made and there is grave concern because the issue has come to be of considerable magnitude. I think the settlement of this issue is very difficult. I think that it would be better for His Majesty to visit the Cabinet meeting— not the so-called council in the Imperial presence, but for His Majesty to attend the Cabinet meeting graciously— and that we hold the meeting in His presence. Although this was mentioned by His Majesty, I believe that instead of having the meeting at His command, it is better to have His Majesty attend at the Premier's request. Now, again, the rightist factions have begun to say 'the non-expansion policy is not satisfactory.' They are saying, in effect: 'As for the non-expansion policy, pro-British individuals such as the former Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal MAKINO, Ambassador YOSHIDA, and Minister of the Imperial Household MATSUDAIRA are extremely undesirable.' Thus MAKINO and others are spoken of in no uncertain terms for which I sympathize with them. Then, the other day, the Chief of the General Staff appeared before the Emperor together with the Chief of the First Section ISHIHARA and explained the strategy."

I eventually said to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: "It seems that a considerable amount of propaganda has reached the ears of Prince SAIONJI: 'It may turn out this way, so please have the Prince bear in mind now the matter of His Majesty attending the Cabinet meeting. I haven't yet spoken in detail to Premier KONOYE about this matter, but I am thinking of speaking to him the next time I see him."

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Terauchi Vexed with Cabinet

On the night of the 13th, an extraordinary session of the Cabinet was held and it lasted until about 1:50 in the morning. Later Premier KONOYE said: "The Navy Minister was highly excited and he shouted at Minister of Finance KAYA without asking for any financial explanations. Finally, it was decided to issue a proclamation, and as the Foreign Minister revised the wording and phrasing of the proclamation, the session finally ended about 1:50 of the following morning."

When I met the Foreign Minister that afternoon, he said: "The fact is that KAO Tsung-wu visited Ambassador KAWAGOE and calling attention to the dilemma of the Chinese, said: 'It is unsatisfactory to leave matters as they are. We would like to have something done about it in the near future. Ambassador KAWAGOE stated: 'First, eliminate the fundamental causes of the controversy; second, plan the stability of North China; and third cooperate and seek for powers anew.'

KAO Tsung-wu asked: 'Is the first issue the Manchurian Problem?' Regarding the second issue, he clearly added: 'You say the stability of North China. However, Japan has no territorial ambitions. Namely, there is no thought of infringing upon the sovereignty.' Thirdly, he said: 'Take positive steps to plan the stability of East Asia in the future.' Such vague discussions were carried on between the two. Ambassador KAWAGOE said: 'I shall await your reply.'

However, the previously mentioned Shanghai Incident broke out. There are individuals in China and Japan, who are saying: 'The causes of the Incident are; the assassination of Lt. (JG) OYAMA, the rousing of considerable excitement in Shanghai by the increased number of Japanese warships, and the increasing of the number of Japanese marines to 3,000.

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However, under such circumstances, the increase of personnel is only natural, and I believe it was actually inevitable .....From Consul Gen. OKAMOTO a message came saying: 'Somehow, I would like to see Shanghai kept free of the devastations of war.' As I mentioned before, it would not be favorable for Japan to increase the number of warships, but that cannot be helped. Thus, instructions were issued to Councillor HIDAKA, and further negotiations are being carried on. Nations such as England, America, France and Italy have said to Councillor HIDAKA: 'Since Shanghai is an international settlement, declare it an open city.' Of course, Japan wishes to avoid Shanghai and the pact to cease fighting is still in effect in Shanghai. If China goes in accordance with that pact— in other words, if China observes the pact— this incident would not have occurred as it did. Though some advocate the withdrawal of troops or acting as the interested nations suggest, such actions cannot possibly be taken now. So I (Foreign Minister) said to Ambassador KAWAGOE: 'Fly to Nanking and open negotiations', but it seems that he hasn't left yet. Furthermore, the Commander-in-Chief of the Third Fleet has asked for more Army troops. Since we have resorted to diplomatic efforts thus far, our actions now may be misconstrued as having some sort of design if we send troops. If we should announce the issuing of the mobilization order, then the situation will be troublesome in May. So, at yesterday's Cabinet meeting, it was decided that the mobilization orders will be issued, but not announced. The date of issuing the mobilization orders and the number of troops were to be decided by the joint meetings of the General Staff Headquarters of the Army and the Navy. The deployment of troops was left up to the Tactical Bureau. It seemed as

though the Army was not willing to send its troops. Foreign Minister HIROTA avoided having the Foreign Office drawn into the issue and pushed the matter on to the Army. Thus, the Ambassadors of England and America came the other day and said: 'Why not carry on negotiations through a neutral country.' But that neutral country seems to be indicated, namely, as Hongkong.'

I met the Premier at his official residence that afternoon, and he said in regard to the previously mentioned matter: "Even though we hold each session of the Cabinet for His Majesty to attend, I wonder if His Majesty will be present. As there are various comments, I am pondering over the matter now."

I arrived at Gotemba at six-thirty o'clock that evening and saw the Prince immediately. I said to the Prince: "Please bear in mind that His Majesty should be present at the Cabinet sessions as the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal previously mentioned....."

The Prince said: "It is all right for His Majest to be present at the Privy Council, but for H. Majesty to participate in resolutions, that is, for His Majesty to air His opinion as though it were an Imperial decision is decidedly bad. That point I must stress." Regarding KONOYE's health, the Prince was greatly concerned and said: "Tell him to rest on Saturdays and Sundays and no matter what happens, I would like to see him rest on holidays. Furthermore, have the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal inform His Majesty that SAIONJI said: 'Prince KONOYE's health is not very good, so I (SAIONJI) desire to have His Majesty tell KONOYE to work diligently but to rest on Saturdays and Sundays.' Have him (Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) also

convey that SAIONJI was greatly concerned over His Majesty's health and for His Majesty to guard His health." Furthermore, the Prince said: "Have the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal inform His Majesty in regard to the character of such men as ISHIHARA and MACHIJIRI.....As there are various rumors, as we must be careful, and I wish to have that point understood." The Prince concluded: "It seems that somehow, the administration is gradually being drawn in by the Army. However, we must do something about that, and it is a perplexing matter."

I returned to Okitsu that night and on the morning of the 14th I had MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal come to Okitsu. I told him in detail what the Prince said to me yesterday at Gotemba in order to have him relay the Prince's message to Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

On the morning of the 15th I spoke to Vice Minister YAMAMOTO over the telephone and among other matters I inquired about the conditions in Shanghai. That evening Gen. TERAUCHI came and said: "This present Cabinet is pretty weak. As there are a number of movements, we must make this Cabinet strong and have them carry on for a long period....HIROTA is weak. The War Minister is unreliable, so he is no good."

On the 16th I telephoned the Navy Minister and promised to meet the Vice Minister and him at eight o'clock in the morning of the 17th. At about eight o'clock in the morning of the 17th I went to the Navy Minister's official residence and inquired about the internal situation of the Cabinet and about the Army. It seemed that they did not wish to criticise the Army. It was said that it appears that the UMEZU group, rather than the SUGIYAMA, is more steadfast. But, the Navy Minister repeatedly said: "As it is extremely delicate, the Navy does not wish to infringe on the matters of

the Army."

At nine o'clock, I went to Premier KONOYE's private residence and related to him the Prince's conversation with me and also His Majesty's request that KONOYE rest on Saturdays and Sundays. Premier KONOYE said: "Even though there is a request from His Majesty, I cannot rest by saying that there was an Imperial command, so I must rest. Since it appears in the newspapers that the Emperor is very diligent, it wouldn't do for me to rest at random just because His Majesty commands, would it?" However, KONOYE rejoiced saying: "I shall fully heed the Prince's advice." KONOYE also said: "At the Cabinet meeting on the night of the 13th, the Navy Minister became very much aroused and shouted at KAYA. Since then, the Navy Minister has become very vigorous in his actions." KONOYE was even concerned about the fact that there is a movement among the younger officers, namely, of the War Ministry and of the General Staff, to put martial law into effect.

On my way home I went to the official residence of the Navy Minister and met the Vice Minister of the Navy, YAMAMOTO. I said to him: "Please convey to the Navy Minister and have him bear in mind the fact that there seems to be talk of declaring martial law."

At about eleven o'clock I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. When I related the various matters which occurred since the other day and about the Prince's conversation, he said: "We must not neglect our preparations against Soviet Russia and that is a grave matter. But, first of all, we must bomb the Chinese military preparations by air as soon as possible, withdraw the troops and provide for the future." Thus, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was gravely concerned about the Soviet relations. He further said: "Since His

Majesty is already well informed about ISHIHARA and MACHIJIRI, it is reassuring."

At a little past noon I dined together with KIDO and MATSUDAIRA, and then I returned home about three o'clock for the time being. Then from four o'clock I visited Gen. ABE at his home and returned about five-thirty o'clock. When I happened to see Premier KONOYE that morning, the Premier said that he would like to see Gen. ABE and speak to him about your dissatisfaction in regards to the War Minister and also about future caution to the Army. Some course of action should be taken." When I related such conversations to him, Gen. ABE seemed to think that instead of War Minister SUGIYAMA, UMEZU is the more reliable. Gen. ABE said: "I keenly feel that it is not very favorable to have His Imperial Highness as the Chief of the General Staff. That is because everybody must be reserved towards His Highness, and again, because His Majesty is very reserved, we cannot truly speak frankly. As for meeting Premier KONOYE and inquiring about various matters, I am happy indeed to do so. I think that it is very important to have Premier KONOYE as definite and resolute as to his course of action." It seemed that Gen. ABE has heard that KONOYE appeared to be wavering in his course.

Then when I returned home about five-thirty o'clock, I had a telephone call from Ambassador ARITA, who said: "I came to Tokyo several days ago, but I would like to see you tonight by all means." So, I dined with Ambassador ARITA at the Kuwana and conversed with him on various matters until about nine o'clock. Ambassador ARITA said: "At the request of the Foreign Minister HIROTA, I was, as a private individual, first of all to go to North China. Since I was

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to go to Shanghai, I was to be a sort of a diplomatic advisor for the commanders while I was travelling about Peiping and Tientsin." I (HARADA) thought it was a very good course of action for the present situation. It seems that ARITA has decided to serve the public well.

Then I returned to Okitsu and at nine-thirty o'clock of the following morning (18th), I visited the Prince at Gotemba and reported in detail. The Prince said: "The other day Koichi came and said: "These are the remarks of the chief secretary and secretaries: 'Somehow, the Premier is very weak-kneed. We need some strong supporters.' So in regards to that message, I (SAIONJI) said to Koichi: 'Tell them that when I delivered your message to the Prince, he rejoiced and forwarded this message: 'Hereafter, I shall leave it to your best judgment.' Among those supporters were the chief secretaries and the private secretaries among whom were KIDO and MATSUOKA, Yosuke. I thought that it would be complicated if it was MATSUOKA, Yosuke, so I didn't say anything about the individuals."

Regarding the previously mentioned judicial decision of KITA and NISHIDA, I furthermore said to the Prince: "From the time that he was the War Minister, Gen. TERAUCHI has said quite frequently: 'We must be definite and righteous in our course of action.!' As he has so vigorously upheld his statement, he has penetrated deeply into the issue." The Prince was well pleased with the manner in which TERAUCHI exerted his utmost efforts in the matter.

I returned and on the afternoon of the 19th, Count HASHIMOTO came to me and said: "Day before yesterday, Gen. MASAKI's brother came and said: 'As the method of punishment for those involved in the February 26th Incident is very

unjust, the younger officers are complaining again. Please convey this to Premier KONOYE.'" Thus, from the fact that Count HASHIMOTO and Major Gen. MASAKI were intimate acquaintances in Russia, Count HASHIMOTO said of MASAKI: "He is more or less an eccentric individual."

Count HASHIMOTO left, and after the evening meal, Gen. TERAUCHI suddenly came and said: "To have Premier KONOYE is troublesome. When he is that weak, it is difficult. That is, when I met the War Minister the other day, he told me that he said to the Premier: 'Minister of Justice SHIONO will not name MASAKI, but please petition the Emperor for amnesty for those connected behind the February 26th Incident. But, to obtain my consent, the Premier sent Minister of Home Affairs BABA to me (War Minister). I rejected this request and did not make an issue of it, but now the MASAKI group is vigorously conducting that same move through ARAKI and his associates." As the time element of HASHIMOTO's coming to me is the same as that of the various movements carried on by MASAKI's brother; and as, of course, the objection was the same, I thought the affair to be suspicious. Consequently, I asked TERAUCHI to convey that conversation to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal on the morning of the 20th. Among TERAUCHI's words of last night, there was the following opinion which was expressed strongly: "The matter will not be settled unless we cast aside the principles of non-expansion and resolve to carry out an over-all policy." I (HARADA) also related to Gen. TERAUCHI the conversation which I had with Gen. ABE and said: "Under certain circumstances, isn't it better to have UMEZU as the War Minister?"

Then after Gen. TERAUCHI left, I had a telephone call from ARITA saying: "Even in the conversation between the War

Minister and the Premier, there is need of sympathy for the War Minister. That is, the principles and the policies of the War Minister are explained to a certain extent to only the inner members of the General Staff Headquarters and to part of the members of the War Ministry. As it is said that it is not announced until it is finally decided that it is possible to be put into action, it seems possible that it is not even mentioned to the Inspector-General of the Military Education. As the situation is such, the War Minister has considerable anxiety. Therefore, that should more or less be taken into consideration in his favour."

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 250 (A)
(9 October 1937)

Konoye Wants Mazaki Cleared

Then, TERAUCHI said: "Yesterday, Minister of Home Affairs BABA appeared at War Minister SUGIYAMA's residence as a messenger from the Premier. He desired an approval concerning the innocence of Gen. MAZAKI and the ultimate petition of amnesty to the Emperor. In erasing the fights and friction, he stated that the conspiracies of the November Incident, March Incident, May 15 Incident, Shimpeitai and the Ketsumei-dan, did not necessarily arise from bad motives. These conspiracies were correct and just because in these instances, the conspirators were concerned about the welfare of the country. Friction became more intense because the opposing factions endeavored to suppress it. In order to alleviate the situation it was necessary for them to petition amnesty and start a new life in this emergency period, finding inspiration in the Emperor's words and cooperating among themselves. This seemed to be the gist of his ideas."

Gen. TERAUCHI said: "At any rate, it is unfavorable to have Premier KONOYE say such things. BABA is even more stupid than I had thought - transmitting such matters. SHIONO seems to be advocating this, but HIRANUMA must be in the back of this." Gen. TERAUCHI was greatly incensed.

I heard of such things on the same day in which Gen. MAZAKI's real brother, Count HASHIMOTO had told me his story. I thought that it was a little queer, and at 8:30 the following morning, I visited the Navy Minister at his residence. I requested the presence of Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO and discussed with him frankly of Gen. TERAUCHI's talk of amnesty and so forth of the night before. The

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Navy Minister said: "The motives are very objectionable. It is just the opinion of one faction and the Navy will never approve of it."

I quoted Foreign Minister ARITA's admonition: "Premier KONOYE frequently reveals grievances between the cabinet members to ones close to himself while things are not yet settled. This sometimes creates various problems - so I would like him to be warned.

"Even if a large budget should be formed I think it would be best if relations with the financial world were considered. We must consider as much as possible, its domestic and foreign affect and it might be well if you consulted men such as the President of the Bank of Japan and the Minister of Finance through the Intendance Bureau Chief in order to proceed with the least amount of ill effects," I said this to the Navy Minister and returned.

Concerning the Social Welfare Ministry problem, Premier KONOYE had said: "The War Ministry is trying to get Medical Bureau Chief KOIZUMI. However, the Ministry of Home Affairs is advocating that it be held jointly and temporarily by the Minister of Home Affairs. As a result there is a clash between the Home Affairs and War Ministries."

On the morning of that day, I met the Premier and heard the details but I returned without touching on the problems of amnesty.

On the morning of the 24th, I visited the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and related to him the details of Gen. TERAUCHI's story concerning the question of amnesty. It was the Lord Keeper's earnest desire to seek a solution to this disagreement and lack of coordination. KONOYE was

intent on seeing the amnesty problem through.

TERAUCHI heard the Premier's message from the Lord Keeper that Minister SUGIYAMA had refused. TERAUCHI said: "They say that the War Minister refused. but I do not think that it means an end to the problem. Premier KONOYE is very eager about it so the handling of matters is quite difficult." The Lord Keeper stated: "When we consider the final outcome, it becomes very difficult. I consider it in the same light as TOYOTOMI, Hideyoshi's Korean conquest, and the future looks dark."

I then visited the Foreign Minister at his office. The Foreign Minister said: "It was decided at today's cabinet meeting to mobilize four divisions and to have another four divisions in readiness. United States requested that no troops be despatched to Tsingtao. However the Government had already decided not to despatch troops to Tsingtao even before the American request."

Just on that day, I was conferring with the Lord Keeper at the Imperial Palace when I met Councillor HIDAKA who had returned from Nanking. He had come to pay his respects to the Emperor and I accidentally met him on his way back. Councillor HIDAKA said: "I received encouraging word from His Majesty," and was very glad. He also said: "It seems as if the only solution is to prepare for a lengthy period. China is looking for a good opportunity, hoping for a peace, but its actual realization should be considerably difficult." Continuing, he said: "Talking about aerial bombings, the concussive power is very great but it is capable of only limited actual damage. I was watching at Nanking - but it did not seem to have any great effect."

Konoye Wants Mazaki Cleared

On the 26th, the Premier was to visit the Genro at Gotemba so I was chosen to visit the Genro on the 25th. I met Premier KONOYE before departing on my trip, and he said: "I wonder if the Genro will make any inquiries when I visit him?" I said: "He is greatly concerned about the handling of the present situation, so the Prince will probably make inquiries concerning it."

Just before I left, I called KIDO on the phone and said: "I wonder if KONOYE will broach the problem of the promulgation of an Imperial Rescript to the Prince by saying that it will solve the squabbles and friction." KIDO replied: "I told him to relate the details to Prince SAIONJI, by all means. Therefore I wish the Prince would tell the Premier frankly whether it is good or bad, instead of resorting to indirect diplomatic language." KIDO further said: "KONOYE has attempted various means to stop the amnesty problem at a certain point. Please request the Genro's aid concerning this problem also."

I left for Gotemba around 10 o'clock on the morning of the 25th. When I met the Prince, he said: "Several days ago KITA, NISHIDA, MURANAKA and ISOBE of the Feb. 26th Incident received their sentences. That settled things for the present, which was very good. It would be better to deal with the men in the background (such as MAZAKI) as soon as possible."

The Prince mentioned it before I could, and I was in a fix for a while, but I related my conversation with KIDO, TERAUCHI and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal concerning the details of the amnesty issue. The Prince said: "It will be better if he resigned if he is going to do such illogical things. There is no absolute need to retain

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KONOYE as the Premier." Prince SAIONJI spoke very harshly.

When I was about to return, the Prince said: "Concerning this problem - if KONOYE attempts to return without touching on this issue, what should I do? Should I bring out the question or not?" I said: "If he mentions the problem, I would desire you to speak to him frankly. However since it is such an important problem there might be an Imperial question directed towards either the Premier or the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. In the end, I believe that he will talk to you and I wish you would talk to him then. I returned that day.

On the 26th the Premier visited the Genro at Gotemba and returned late at night. KIDO called me on the telephone after that and he said: "KONOYE just called me on the telephone and said: 'I talked of the amnesty issue to the Prince at Gotemba. He only revealed a part of his opinion and tried to prevent me from touching upon the problem. We only talked of other important issues in our conversation and I could not touch upon the amnesty issue for a second time. (Notes on edge of page - 'The Prince did not consciously mean to oppose the amnesty problem, Oct. 1, at Okitsu). In the end, the problem was not solved and I returned.' That was Premier KONOYE's story."

On the 27th, I visited the Premier at his official residence. The Premier was surprised and said: "I met the Prince after an absence of one year. It seems to me that his physical condition is getting poorer. However his mind seemed to be as clear as ever. I brought out the amnesty issue designed to end the squabbles and friction and compared MAZAKI with UGAKI. The Prince said:

'We cannot tell what they are actually thinking. We can only know when their thoughts appear as words and actions. In the long run, it is useless to compare UGAKI with MAZAKI.' Thus, he refused propagandism for the benefit of one group and I was never able to touch on the problem again. We spoke of other subjects and I finally came back. This problem does not warrant any haste so I plan to have KIDO visit the Prince before things take concrete form."

KONOYE also said: "I would like to establish a National Policy Deliberation Committee, placing men like UGAKI, ARAKI, and SUETSUGU in it. I want to make a so called gesture to make it appear that the Army is cooperating with this and that there are no longer any clannish relations within it." I related by anxieties and replied: "Will it not bring about greater squabbles and friction? Individually, men like ARAKI, UGAKI, and SUETSUGU are harmless. However if the men surrounding them should stir up trouble, I am worried lest the results become increasingly harmful." To Premier KONOYE I also said: "As for myself, it is very difficult for me to transmit these details because they are very delicate. I wish you yourself would speak to him or have KIDO go." I admonished him repeatedly and as an afterthought I said: "Even if UGAKI and ARAKI are put in, it will probably not succeed." I returned after that.

I visited the Navy Minister on the 28th and talked on various issues concerning the amnesty problem. Because the Imperial Household Minister had expressed a desire to see me, I visited him at his official residence. He talked of Prince CHICHIBU's visit through Switzerland and Germany and of the recent situation.

I also went to the Foreign Ministry and met the Vice-Minister. He stated that the following three demands were contained in the instructions to the British Ambassador to China HUGESSEN (refers to Sir Hugh Montgomery Knatchbull - Hugessen) from the British Government and the Charge d' Affairs of the Embassy. They were: (1) A formal apology; (2) Punishment of responsible individuals; (3) A guarantee of non-recurrence of such matters. The Vice-Minister said that he would give an answer to the instructions after re-examination and sent him back.

I visited the Prince at Gotemba on the 30th and talked of the various problems of amnesty. The Prince said: "I hear that KIDO also approves. Until now, there have been too many worthless men around KONOYE. It was very unpleasant to have such men around him." The Prince showed slight discontent.

I returned to Oiso on the 1st and Adm. NOMURA visited me concerning the Peers' School problem. We talked on various matters and he returned after that.

On the 2nd, I went to Tokyo and met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. I related the details of the talks between the Genro and the Premier. In the evening, I requested a visit of KIDO and after various inquiries concerning the amnesty problem, I learned that KONOYE had visited KIDO as soon as the KONOYE Cabinet was formed, which was even before the amnesty problem. I heard that he spoke for two hours of the innocence of MAZAKI and the amnesty issue and said: "If you speak to HARADA about this he will immediately say: 'It is probably a result of ARAKI's instigation.' Therefore, I would prefer

that you do not say anything about this to HARADA and HATSUDAIRA." According to KIDO he was in complete opposition to the argument that MAZAKI was innocent and when it was time to part he said: "What's the use of you sticking to such trifling matters?"

KIDO further stated: "For KONOYE, this amnesty issue was one that he could not forget for even a moment since his appointment. He had even said: 'If I do not succeed in this, I will resign.' This was very bad, so I suggested some conditions and approved of it after t ese conditions were added. I said: "First, the Imperial Edict is not merely for the sake of absolving MAZAKI and his faction. Second, I do not want any authorization of the Feb. 26th Incident. Third, the Empire is always a law-governed country and it must be made clear that violence will never succeed. Fourth, it is necessary to show that this Imperial Edict was not issued by coercion of the Emperor. Fifth, public endorsement of this proposal must be gained. If it is compatible with the above conditions, I am in approval.' I said that to KONOYE."

KIDO concluded: "KONOYE said: 'A request has been made of the Director of the Bureau of Legislation, TAKI, and even the wording of the Imperial Rescript has been completed.'"

I visited the Navy Minister at his official residence on the 3rd. I requested that the Vice-Minister also be present, and related KIDO's complete story concerning the amnesty issue. I repeatedly requested that they do not aimlessly oppose KONOYE but to guide him well and to prevent him from making any blunders. When Minister of

Home Affairs BABA was sent to the War Minister's residence, the War Minister inquired of Home Affairs Minister BABA: "Have you approached the Emperor concerning this problem?" BABA replied at that time: "The Emperor was not informed yet." However when I met KONOYE the other day, he said: "We have already reported this to the Emperor and His Majesty said that he would consider it." I also related this incident to the Navy Minister.

I said to the Navy Minister: "[illegible]r since the formation of KONOYE's Cabinet, the Emperor's health has become extremely favorable. In other words, it was considered that KONOYE would respect the constitution in contrast with the previous Premiers and when he was appointed, the Emperor even said to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: 'There will be no need to mention the constitution to KONOYE, will there?' Somehow, His Majesty felt very close to KONOYE and the officials close to His Majesty such as Vice-Chamberlain HIROHATA happily said: 'Upon watching conversations between the Emperor and KONOYE, the Emperor seems to be very much at ease, which is very good.' It is exceedingly regretful that such things should be forwarded to the Emperor causing him such a great amount of anxiety."

I had former Home Affairs Minister GOTO, Fumio, who was formerly on friendly terms with Premier KONOYE to come to my residence on the morning of the same day and asked him to restrain KONOYE concerning this problem.

At noon, I invited Gen. ABE to my home and talked to him lengthily on this issue. At the same time I said to the War Minister: "TERAUCHI will be leaving for Tientsin, and there will be no one to delegate this problem to. I

hope that there are no errors in the handling of this problem."

Both Gen. ABE and GOTO, Fumio, said that even from three or four years ago they had vaguely realized that the Rightists and men like ARAKI had advocated amnesty for all rebellious acts and conspirators of rebellion. President of the Privy Council HIRANUMA was also in agreement to this and they planned it's realization at some opportune moment. Just at that moment the KONOYE Cabinet was formed and they seemed to have exerted all their efforts towards this goal. Premier KONOYE's basic intention was to erase all friction and squabbles but they took advantage of this. KONOYE is presumed to have said to KIDO: "This is all my idea, and not of men like ARAKI."

According to ABE's story: "On the morning of the occurrence of the Feb. 26th Incident, the War Councillors gathered at the official residence of the War Minister. Gen. ARAKI was supposed to bring out this problem but because of the occurrence of such an incident, it was finally forgotten."

An extraordinary session of the Diet was held from the 4th to the 6th and I was quite busy, but it was closed without any great complications.

I then went to Gotemba on the 7th and related KIDO's and KONOYE's story concerning the amnesty problem and the complete details of my conversation with ABE, GOTO and the Navy Minister.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 250-B
(9 October 1937)

Aoki Reports on North China

I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at the Palace on the 10th of September. He said: "The War Minister received an audience with the Emperor the other day. He reported: 'They desired to clarify the fact that they did not possess any territorial ambitions. Therefore, they desired some action through diplomatic channels.' In reply to the War Minister, the Emperor inquired: 'You say this—but can you control your subordinates?' The War Minister replied with confidence: 'I will be completely capable of assuming the responsibility.' Immediately after that, the Emperor summoned the Chief Aide-de-Camp and said to him: 'The War Minister says that he can control his subordinates. How about inviting all of the foreign correspondents of foreign newspapers stationed in Tokyo to the official residence and have the War Minister issue a statement declaring the non-existence of Japanese territorial ambitions?' The War Minister replied to the Emperor that he would make a report after further consideration. It is doubtful whether Anglo-American feelings will improve as a result of that. England is indignant because her interests in the South have been trampled over, so it is not simply a problem of North China. The Emperor's opinions have been prompted by the Army. Therefore, it seems to be the Emperor's wise action to delegate the responsibility to the Army." The Lord Keeper was deeply impressed by the Emperor's wisdom.

On the 11th, before I departed for Gotemba, I met KONOYE. KONOYE said: "It would be well to send Ambassador NOMURA to the United States and Imperial Household Minister MATSUDAIRA to England." Concerning the problem, Imperial Household

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Minister MATSUDAIRA said: "It is not good to use an official of the Palace in government posts. Therefore, NOMURA must not be despatched as a special envoy." As a result, KONOYE said: "The Imperial Household Minister feels this way, so I would like the Genro to talk to the Household Minister so that NOMURA can be sent." KONOYE also said on that day: "I had supper with the Navy Minister last night and we had a good talk."

I visited KIDO that night. KIDO said to me: "Ambassador GREW secretly told MATSUDAIRA: 'The President of the United States does not prefer the despatching of a special envoy to the United States. Our situation will become very difficult so please refrain from it.' MATSUDAIRA told me this." KIDO continued: "MATSUDAIRA talked of his conversation with TERAUCHI saying: 'I cautioned him, telling him of the corrupt situation among the present younger officers in North China.'" KONOYE left for Karuizawa last night to rest. I visited the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at his private residence on the morning of the 12th. The Lord Keeper spoke of the Grand Imperial Headquarters problem and said: "The Emperor sometimes says: 'The War Minister talked of the following things. Will you transmit it to the Premier?' Or at times, instructions to His Highness, the Chief of Naval General Staff, are not relayed to His Highness. Instead, it sometimes is retained in Major Gen. ISHIHARA's office and it is very inconvenient. In these respects, if the Grand Imperial Headquarters is established, liaison will be made in all directions. This is the fundamental reason for the advocation of a need for creating a Grand Imperial Headquarters." The Lord Keeper also said: "As far as foreign envoys are concerned, Admiral NOMURA is just the man for America.

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Aoki Reports on North China

"Concerning the situation in Shanghai and North China — Japan seems to be enjoying a favorable position in the opinions of the general public. However, they have not been informed at all about the Anglo-American feeling towards Japan. It may be better to reveal foreign feelings towards Japan, in other words, English and American newspaper articles, to the public a little at a time, so that they will not experience extreme indignation at the end of the war. The Japanese people are overestimating the capabilities of the Army and Navy. On the other hand they do not realize how strong China has become in recent years and are underrating China. Even in international relations, it may be better if the Government revealed some of its problems to the nation."

Then on my return, I met the Navy Vice Minister and Minister at the Navy Minister's official residence. We talked of various things, and I learned that the Navy Minister was opposed to the establishment of the Grand Imperial Headquarters. His reasons were that the Army General Staff Headquarters would make unreasonable proposals and would press it upon the lower echelons such as the War and Navy Ministries by saying that it was decided at the Grand Imperial Headquarters. It would be utilized in this manner and it was decided that they would oppose the establishment of the Grand Imperial Headquarters for the reason that in military affairs, there was already an agreement between the War and Navy Ministries, and they considered the Army General Staff Headquarters' establishment of a Grand Imperial Headquarters as a conspiracy."

I returned to Oiso that afternoon and met Count KABAYAMA. Count KABAYAMA knew of Ambassador GREW's views and of the

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identical story which MATSUDAIRA had related to KIDO.

I went to Gotemba on the 13th and reported completely on recent details to the Prince. The Prince decided to return to Okitsu on the 17th. Concerning the Grand Imperial Headquarters problem— it was the Prince's opinion that there was no need for it at this time. He said: "If it is necessary, it should be sufficient to have the cabinet members and members of the Board of Field Marshals and Fleet Admirals to collaborate on administrative matters."

According to the Navy Minister's story which I heard at his residence, he said: "The other day, I had supper with Premier KONOYE and we talked until late at night. At first, I told KONOYE that I thought the Chief of the Fleet was the most appropriate person for the Navy Minister's post, and I did not have the least desire to take over the post of Navy Minister. On the contrary, I wanted to refuse it but in the end it could not be helped. Premier KONOYE replied that he had the same opinions, so I said: 'You have always been a statesman. You cannot refuse assignments by saying that you do not like it, and so forth. It is an exceedingly difficult task to have taken over this troublesome situation, but as long as you were born a man, this is your ultimate goal. As long as you have assumed the responsibility, let us work with all our might.' I encouraged him heartily and KONOYE replied: 'It is the first time that I've been encouraged like this, and he was very happy about it."

The Navy Minister further stated: "The problem of amnesty was about to be mentioned, so I hinted that it was an issue requiring the fullest consideration and I was not very much in agreement.

I then met the Foreign Minister on the 15th, and he said:

"Ambassador GREW has submitted his opinions, and it is planned not to despatch a special envoy to the Unites States. Even if we were to despatch someone, the appropriate individual would be difficult to find."

On the morning of the 15th, since President (of the South Manchurian Railway) MATSUOKA had expressed a desire to see me, I visited him. He reiterated the opinions of Prince SAIONJI concerning diplomatic problems.

I met Premier KONOYE on the 16th and touched slightly on the problem of the Grand Imperial Headquarters. KONOYE said that there was a request for the reorganization of the cabinet from the War Minister and he was "in the midst of consideration" at the time. The Premier said: "Opinions of Foreign Minister HIROTA are very bad. I am considering the exchanging of OTANI and MATSUOKA. We cannot force the resignation of the Foreign Minister. I am thinking of appointing MATSUOKA in an advisory capacity."

The Prince returned to Okitsu from Gotemba on the 17th and I accompanied him there. Enroute, the Prince suffered a slight attack of cerebral anaemia and although we were worried for a while, it wasn't very serious. He returned to his normal condition in a couple of days.

I remained at Okitsu and on the morning of the 18th, I talked to the Finance Minister by phone. The Finance Minister said: "BABA is expressing a desire to place NAKANO and AKITA in the National Policy Deliberation Committee, which is very bad." I replied: "If that is the case, how about sending Vice Chief ISHIWATA to KIDO's place. He has been friendly with him since school days. KIDO can give KONOYE a friendly warning." I then said to KIDO: "BABA is endeavoring to place NAKANO and AKITA in (the National Policy Deliberation Committee). Will you be

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on the lookout?".

On the next day, KIDO visited KONOYE. KIDO then called me by telephone and said: "BABA is giving us a lot of trouble. About the problem — KONOYE himself doesn't seem very much concerned about it but KONOYE says that BABA has expressed a special desire to appoint NAKANO and AKITA."

On the morning of the 19th, I cautioned the War and Navy Ministers by phone concerning this problem. I said to former Premier OKADA on the telephone: "The Navy Minister is not too well acquainted with personalities in political circles so I would like you to advise him concerning such things."

Then on the 20th, I learned from both former Premier OKADA and Vice Minister YAMAMOTO by telephone that the two had had an intimate talk. They had both agreed to "convey the situation of the financial circles to the Navy Minister."

During my stay in Okitsu, I visited the Prince every morning. Each time, the Prince inquired as to the methods of concluding the war, and he was quite worried. He said: "It was the best plan for Japan to promote the growth of CHIANG Kai Shek and to collaborate with him. However, for some unknown reason the Army took a disliking to CHIANG Kai Shek and the plan fell through. As long as things have come to such a head, CHIANG Kai Shek will never respond. With whom are we going to negotiate with in China now? Take the case of LI Hung Chang and YUAN Shih Kai of long ago. LI Hung Chang was considerably criticised during the Sino-Japanese War. However since China did not have any other man besides him, negotiations were carried on with LI Hung Chang and results were achieved. YUAN Shih Kai was also in disfavor, but at that time, he was the only man. In the final analysis, he was the most prominent figure in China and negotiations were

conducted with him." He repeatedly inquired: "Who are they going to deal with at present anyway?"

The Prince further stated: "Tell me of a country that did not have an era of struggle and strife. In the end, civilization and progress is realized only as the result of struggle." I said: "Prince KONOYE must have realized this, and I think that he is only mentioning an extreme case." It seemed as if the Prince was not in favor of appointing NAKANO and AKITA.

I told the Prince of my visit with Professor NISHIDA. I also told him of the request which was made of Prince KONOYE. I asked KIDO by telephone to request Prince KONOYE's encouragement of the Foreign Minister. The elderly Prince said: "During the World War the German Army hoped for its speedy conclusion and they did not allow a single enemy soldier to enter their country. The reason Germany became a defeated country was because they laid the blame on the statesmen, and while things were in confusion conspiracies arose in the Navy. The final outcome was like that. What is Japan going to do to reach a conclusion? I believe that Foreign Minister HIROTA has thought about it, but will you tell the Lord Keeper and the Foreign Minister of my anxieties?"

Just on that day, Ambassador ARITA returned to Japan and since he was passing through Shizuoka, I went to greet him at Shizuoka and accompanied him until Numazu.

I questioned him on various topics and he said: "I went with no definite object and do not have anything concrete to relate. However recent maintenance of public peace and order is going along very well. I met Gen. TERAUCHI in Tientsin but he was very energetic in his assertions. He said: 'We must reach Nanking at all costs.' I replied and said: 'I

wish you would execute it thoroughly. When we consider the former incident in which troops were sent to Tsinan, there is a need to execute it boldly.' Afterwards, when I inquired of the situation from Major Gen. KITA, (Special Service Facilities Chief) he replied: 'It is Gen. TERAUCHI's wish that we act in conformity with orders from central headquarters.' Therefore, they must be in agreement and are being enthusiastic about their statements. But when and where will this be stopped? Again, even if they should boldly execute it, how will they handle future events? The General must study these things quite thoroughly." That was Ambassador ARITA's story.

On the afternoon I inquired of the situation from the Foreign Vice-Minister. He said: "An agreement seems to have been reached at the conference of the War, Navy and Foreign Ministers, and the Army seemed to be in a great hurry to reach a conclusion. It is all right to make a request of a third country, but it would be disagreeable if various conditions should be imposed by a foreign country." That was what HORIUCHI said.

I then had MATSUDAIRA, Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, come to Okitsu and I said: "AOKI the Vice Chief of the Manchurian Affairs Bureau has returned after an inspection tour of North China and has expressed a desire to talk to me, but I am not able to talk to him. Will you listen to his story, and bring the details to Okitsu?"

MATSUDAIRA returned to Okitsu with the following story: "Vice-Chief AOKI was requested to go to North China by the Kwantung Army. Since it was AOKI's desire to learn the entire Army's policy towards such things as the currency problem,

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he met with prominent figures and heads of the Army before he departed. According to the Army men, the War, Navy and Foreign Ministries were united upon: (1) Sino-Japanese Co-operation; and (2) The absolute non-existence of territorial ambitions. They wanted him to base his thoughts on these two points. They also said that if it was possible, it would be permissable to reach an agreement with the Nanking Government. In North China, AOKI tried to pay first consideration to the economic set up and the gaining of the understanding of the people, (for the good of the Chinese people) but in the localities there were no military governments, and special governments were not set up. In other words, it would be best if Japan aided them by forming the Central and Communications Banks of China as the basis. The Central Bank was under the direct jurisdiction of Nanking and would be utterly impossible. If Japanese currency was used, more power would be gained. However this was impossible even in Manchuria, an independent country, which had close relationships with Japan. This was already discovered, so in using currency there was a great amount of psychological reaction. In other words, it must be something that will put the minds of the Chinese people at ease, and in this respect, Japanese currency was unquestionably ineffective. In the final analysis, if it was impossible to soothe the minds of the Chinese people, this would be proof that there are no territorial ambitions on the part of Japan. If these banks are aided, there might be persons criticizing the move because the Chekiang financial cliques who are in the background will back it, and because they are connected with the Nanking Government. But, as long as it is Japanese policy to aid and protect persons who are not hostile towards us, it was AOKI's belief

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that it was permissable to aid them even if they were indirectly connected with the Nanking Government. Relations between the branch and central banks in China are entirely dissimilar from that of Japan. They are independent of each other and bank notes issued in Tientsin bear the local name "Tientsin" on them. If the South should be predominant and Communism should spread, the Northern banks which are aided by Japan will be able to gain independence. In other words, the Central bank in North China also has desires of conforming to Japanese policy, so if the South should collapse, power will be concentrated in North China.

"There are slight differences between the Central Army authorities, and the Kwantung Army and the Tientsin Army, but the Central Army is very moderate. There are some theories to 'recognize the peculiarities of North China,' but on the whole, they are moderate. The Kwantung Army is advocating an autonomous government of the five provinces of North China, and is subscribing to the theory of the division of North and South. The Army in Korea also seems to be of the same opinion. The Tientsin Army is generally moderate and is similar to the Central Army, but it is the Tientsin Army's desire to fulfill full economic cooperation between Japan and China. A Sino-Japanese alliance is further necessary in an anti-communistic sense. AOKI strongly asserted this.

"The Kwantung Army differs from the Central Army because it believes that first of all, if China made a great change and became subservient to Japan, Japan could afford to be big hearted towards her, but this would be impossible. CHIANG Kai Shek seems to have tendencies of becoming communistic, so he should lose his power anyway. Anarchy

would be unfavorable), so they must consider the independence of the Five North China provinces. Secondly, they desire to hasten the independence of North China. The reason is that this present Indident will not be concluded in a short period of time. During this period, there must be a ruling government. Therefore (since a military government cannot be established), they desire to set up an autonomous government in North China. The Tientsin Army is advocating defense against Communism and the demilitarization of North China, and economic collaboration; but it is the Kwantung Army's desire to combine the four local governments of Tientsin into an amalgamated body, naming it the North China Autonomous Government, combining the Tokyo central government organs, Tientsin, Peiping and the Hopei-Chahar regions.

AOKI also said that if a Sino-Japanese agreement is concluded just before his return, he will have no other demands to make. However, will the families of deceased personnel agree to this? They will say we have sacrificed so much and expended national funds to this degree, and yet have not gained anything. The families of the soldiers and the soldiers themselves, will say that something will have to be done for the benefit of those who paid the sacrifice. In other words, they will say that the Five Provinces will have to be made Japanese territory, or they will say that they desire the independance of the Five Provinces under the control of Japan. They seem to have various opinions. Upon AOKI's return, he discovered that the central authorities are also worried about it. It is very necessary to have the people consider (the sufficient benefits to be gained from railroads and industries in these districts), and concerning the people in Tientsin, they will follow the lead of the

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authorities in Tokyo.

"Upon inspecting the situation in Manchuria, it seemed to have been agitated a lot at first. The Emperor was very eager to listen to radio broadcasts emanating from the South and the situation was in a state of agitation because they believed this propaganda. However, the facts became gradually known and they realized that broadcasts from the South generally contained false goods. Right now it isn't very much of a problem. Things are relatively peaceful on the Soviet border. It seems as if the Kwantung Army is on the rampage in the Chahar district, but there seems to be considerable reasons for this.

"Furthermore, when AOKI attends conferences of diplomats who were despatched to foreign lands, and when government organs are mentioned, AOKI finds that people such as the Consul-General are ignorant of a lot of things. They said such things as '20,000,000.00 Yuan can be earned from salt taxes! An Army man replied that the total of the five provinces reached 20,000,000.00 Yuan and the Japanese had control of only a small percentage of it, and he seemed embarrassed."

AOKI's tale was something like that.

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Chapter 251
(13 October 1937)

Britain May Mediate

KIDO made a request of me, and said: "In order that the Foreign Minister will not lag behind, I wish you would hastily confer with the Premier and arrange it so that he will pay some consideration to future events."

The Premier relayed the following information: "The English Ambassador came three times to Foreign Minister HIROTA's place and said: 'I believe the British Government will try to persuade CHIANG Kai-shek. What are Japan's demands anyway?' Foreign Minister HIROTA replied: 'This is my personal idea, but according to my plan: (1) I would draw a line slightly south of Tientsin and Peiping and would make it a demilitarized zone and both Japanese and Chinese troops will not be stationed in this area; (2) The recognition of Manchuria; (3) The ceasing of anti-Japanese movements; (4) Defense against Communism; (5) The maintenance of equal rights in China.' These five conditions were demanded of the English Ambassador. The English Ambassador said: 'On the whole, I think it is a very rational plan. However, England does not want to touch on ideological problems, so in this respect anti-communist clauses are unfavorable. Therefore, how about handling this anti-communist clause by special methods such as the conclusion of a secret Sino-Japanese pact?' He made this sort of suggestion. He further stated: 'At the present time, I doubt if CHIANG Kai-shek will respond to anti-communistic movements.'"

This is an altogether different story, but MATSUOKA came to KIDO's place and said: "No matter what is said, England is a great country. SCHACHT of Germany is

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virtually a puppet of England. HITLER is well aware of this, and yet, he cannot do anything against England. French financial circles also seem unable to cope with England. England has always been that powerful, so England will be the only country that will be able to suppress Russia. Concerning defense against Communism in China, they seem to be influenced greatly by England." That was MATSUDAIRA's story.

I went to the Prince's residence on the 27th. He said: "The Incident will somehow have to be concluded rapidly, or we'll be in trouble. I would like to see its termination during this year, but no matter how one looks at it, both from the standpoint of domestic and foreign affairs, the incident is undesirable."

Just about the day before, there was a notice from the Justice Department saying that hereafter, military personnel, civilians assigned with the military, and of course civilians, who had received sentences of less than four years, could join the armed forces upon their own request. Concerning this, the Prince said: "Somehow, the enlistment of prisoners seems like a destruction of military discipline. It is a glorious privilege for the average citizen to join the armed forces and they are taught that it is an honor. It is a great honour and glory especially for military personnel and civilians attached to the military. It is very bad to use this method to erase punishment."

Just at that time, a decision was reached on Gen. MAZAKI's case and he received a decision of not guilty on grounds of insufficient evidence. Concerning this matter, the Prince said: "This is very bad. I wonder if this

isn't the prelude to an Imperial proclamation of amnesty?" I said: "MAZAKI's case was concluded in this manner, so they may have stopped trying to receive an Imperial proclamation of amnesty."

I talked to Naval Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO by telephone. He said: "Administratively, it is both the Army's and Navy's wish to see some sort of conclusion by October and November. They are in the midst of arrangements."

I talked to ARITA on the phone and he said: "I met KIDO yesterday, and in the evening I met Foreign Minister HIROTA, telling him to work as closely as possible with the Premier."

I then talked to Premier KONOYE on the phone and mentioned MAZAKI's case. The Premier said: "That was what we wanted, wasn't it?"

The newspapers called up and said: "ISHIHARA is being sent as the Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army." They further stated: "The current mobilization plans are a complete failure. The 1st and 2nd Reserves are also included and when the 1st and 2nd Reserves go to the front together with the younger men, there will be a variety of sociological opinions. The reserves worry about their families, economics and finance. They also worry about the decline of Japanese money exchange and they impart some sort of influence to the younger men who fight madly without any restrictions of family ties, or any thought to social problems. Their spirit becomes numbed and from now, the induction age will have to be lowered. The Chinese Army is stronger than expected and young men about 18 or 19 attack with fatalistic spirit. They come to grips with the Japanese Army and fall from a precipice.

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Britain May Mediate

Upon inspection of a fallen Chinese soldier's pockets, there was a letter of encouragement from his mother which said: 'Do not come back alive.' There seems to be a strong inculcation of patriotism towards the mother country and anti-Japanese spirit. In Shanghai and North China, army surveys are highly incompatible, and today, when it is already five years since the outbreak of the Shanghai incident, it was discovered that great defensive works had been constructed in these five years. The reason that the Army was completely ignorant of this was because the expeditionary army was occupied entirely with politics and diplomacy, that they forgot their main duties. That is the impression they give. Public opinion is highly favorable concerning the Navy, and especially the Naval Air Corps. The Navy Ministry issued a proclamation saying: 'The Navy is not anything extraordinary. However, they have exerted all their efforts into the study of battle tactics. In other words, they paid undivided attention to the minute problems of national defense.' It seemed to hint that the reason the Army failed as it has was because they spent all their time on the big issues of national defense. The Army was highly indignant." The Navy seemed reluctant to cooperate with the Army, and this is also an unfavorable phenomenon.

On the 30th, I talked with the War Minister by telephone, and he said: "I would like to appoint AOKI as the Vice-Chief of the Planning Board. The Planning Board will become the Planning Bureau. The Resources Bureau and the Planning Board will be combined with TAKI as President. No matter who is appointed to that post, there will be criticism and TAKI should be the easiest person." That

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was his proposal, and it seemed to have been decided that way.

At first, the Premier had said to BABA: "Let's appoint AOKI as Vice-Chief." BABA replied that AOKI was undesirable and he rejected it. After that, AOKI returned from North China and gave a report before the Cabinet members. Their opinion of AOKI suddenly became favorable and BABA couldn't help but go to the War Minister's residence. He said that he wanted the appointment of AOKI. The War Minister replied: "I do not want him to become Vice-Chief. Make him President," and sent BABA back. I had heard of this on the telephone, so I said: "If someone else is appointed, things will be disagreeable. So, as far as official position is concerned, he will not have to be President. It is all right even if he is the Vice-Chief, but it is best if he is chosen. Looking at it from other angles, there is an absolute need to place AOKI in that position. It is necessary for AOKI to be close to the Premier in order to correct his knowledge."

When I said this, Minister SUGIYAMA was also in approval and went to BABA's residence. He requested the appointment of AOKI, and BABA replied: "You refused once when I mentioned AOKI. I am making other negotiations right now, so will you wait a little while longer?" I told the War Minister: "In the end, that is his plan, so you must be careful." The War Minister seemed a little distraught. In the end, since YAMADA, who was recommended by Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal BABA was not too well received and was criticized from various directions, AOKI was finally chosen to be appointed as Vice-Chief. His successor in the post of Vice-Chief of the Manchurian

Affairs Bureau was HARA of the Finance Ministry.

Officials close to the Premier have said that: "Vice-Minister of War UMEZU is very undesirable. Others have also said that Vice-Minister of War UMEZU is undesirable. These opinions are becoming more prevalent recently and although I haven't seen very much of him, I learned from the Navy and Foreign Ministries that Lt. Gen. UMEZU was an honest person. He did not cater to the wishes of the younger officers and this seemed to be the root of criticism. It was not a good thing for just myself to have such an opinion so I consulted the Navy Minister and Vice-Minister, and of course the War Minister. Their opinions were that among Army men, UMEZU was the fairest and most dependable, so I relayed it to the Premier for his reference.

I returned to Tokyo on the 1st, and on the morning of the 2nd, I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. The Lord Keeper said: "Foreign sympathies towards China have become very intense and has placed China in a very advantageous position."

On my return, I met the Foreign Minister at his official residence. He said: "The British Ambassador said: 'England is willing at any time to act as an intermediary, but isn't it possible for the Japanese government to make the proposal?' I said: 'If the Nanking government seems ready to comply, we would like to make definite overtures. However, I wish you would negotiate with Nanking saying that certain reliable sources instructed you to do so. Please do not say that the Foreign Minister said such things.' The British Ambassador replied: 'If I say it is from reliable sources, it will be

of no use. I will not be able to negotiate with him unless I tell him that you said so.' I replied: 'This is just my opinion, so you may use the name of HIROTA. Please say that HIROTA requested you to do this.' Later, the British Ambassador said: 'According to reports from Nanking, they say that CHIANG Kai-shek is ready at any time to carry out negotiations. The only thing is that it is difficult for the Chinese to propose this matter.' I said: 'If China has such preparations, Japan can send an unofficial representative and meet somewhere around Shanghai with the Chinese representative. It is sufficient if England opens the negotiations, but it will be bad if she should stand in the fore and intervene as a third party. It is disagreeable to have interference from the League of Nations and the Nine Power Conferences and I would like to have just the understanding of England. Of course, Japan has no monopolistic desires concerning rights and so forth in China.' Upon watching the subsequent doings of the League, the English representative said at the minority committee: 'This problem is said to concern just two countries. However, there is a great amount of foreign interests involved, so let us create a minority committee.' They have created an atmosphere which strives for Sino-Japanese cooperation, but Europe is still unfamiliar with Far Eastern matters so it was their intention not to interfere with the cooperation of Japan and China. This seemed to be the result of Ambassador to Japan CRAIGIE's efforts, and China will never respond unless England is pulled towards our side. There are some people in Army circles who say that we should openly request the mediation of United States.

It is permissible to request the open mediation of United States when the request which is made of England fails, but I do not believe that it is such a time."

The Foreign Minister continued: "It is natural that the atmosphere should be very tense in England. In Hongkong, the situation is such that they are unable to obtain any fish for daily purposes because of the naval blockade. Italy has mentioned a military alliance in addition to the anti-comintern pact with Japan. I said to Ambassador to Italy HORIUCHI: 'An anti-comintern pact is sufficient.'"

Just when I was about to return, the Foreign Minister said: "The other day, Justice Minister SHIONO appeared and said: 'This is a request of the Premier. In order to pacify the squabbles, we would like to receive an Imperial proclamation. We would like to free the conspirators of rebellion, such as those involved in the Feb. 26 Incident, May 15 Incident, and Shimpeitai who are still being confined, by amnesty. If this is done, they will be struck by His Majesty's virtues, since their motives were for the good of the country and their acts seemed right to them.' That was what he said, so I immediately replied: 'How about the other Ministers?' Minister SHIONO replied: 'The War Minister seems to be in approval.' I went right away to the Premier's place and inquired as to the details of the problem. I (Foreign Minister) said: 'How does the Genro feel?' The Premier replied that the Genro was opposed to this. I asked the Premier whether he thought that the disorder in the inner Army circles could be straightened out by such actions and control could be regained. The Premier replied that

he had no firm conviction of that. I replied that I would also think it over and we parted." HIROTA related this to me ih the utmost secrecy.

I then met the Navy Minister and inquired: "They say that you are in agreement with the amnesty problem. How about it?" The Minister replied: "There is absolutely no such thing. I am a Navy man and am not familiar with such things. How about asking the Minister of Education as to its ideological effect upon the general public? The Navy cannot agree to such things. However, if all of the Cabinet Ministers are in agreement, I will conform whether I am in approval or not, but I myself am not in agreement. I made that clear." I said to the Navy Minister: "Concerning the amnesty problem I wish the War and Navy Ministers would confer fully. The Prince is also very concerned about this problem so I wish you would discuss this problem thoroughly among yourselves."

I also talked to the War Minister concerning the details of AOKI. He had already called AOKI and asked his consent. The War Minister who already had known of the details said that BABA had also consented.

I then went to Okitsu on the 4th and met the Prince. I told him of the happenings after the 1st. The Prince was also very anxious about the proclamation of amnesty, and said: "If such things are done there will be no need for the constitution. There will be a complete disappearance of public order and social discipline."

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Chapter 252
(30 October 1937)

Konoye Favors Amnesty

I returned to Tokyo on the 5th, and visited the Premier in the morning. The Premier was confined in bed with a cold and we talked of various past events. He said to me: "Bureau of Legislation Chief TAKI is going to be the President of the Planning Bureau, and we have trouble in finding his successor. I am thinking of asking KIDO, but I wonder if he'll refuse because of the low position? Things should go smoothly if it is KIDO." I said: "The other day, when the candidates for the Presidency of the Planning Bureau were mentioned, KIDO was recommended. You have been giving the impression to others that I am the only one that is deeply concerned with the appointment of KIDO. I thought this was queer and I did not say anything more about it. If you make up your mind to ask KIDO this time, I believe that KIDO will not be concerned with the low position and will gladly accept. KIDO is saying that he hates to accept a position and be utilized by others, but if you should earnestly desire his acceptance, he will not refuse any sacrifice. I will not say anything more because I do not desire a repetition of the last time. However, as long as you make your decision, I think he will come. Concerning the problem of a declaration of amnesty, if I should speak to them directly, we will become swayed by our emotions and I may not be able to say one tenth of what I expect to say. Therefore, I plan to send you a letter. Please read it."

When I was about to leave, KONOYE said: "Will you

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look over this thing?" He showed me the original proposal to appoint State Councillors and revealed the personnel. It contained the names of UGAKI, ARAKI, SUETSUGU, ABE, MACHIDA, MAEDA, MATSUOKA, GO, AKITA and IKEDA. IKEDA wasn't included in the original plan.

KONOYE said: "If there is a meeting concerning this, there will be various arguments and greater danger. So, I would like to circulate this and obtain individual opinions. This is merely a gesture - but how do you feel about it?" I replied: "I doubt the wisdom of appointing AKITA, Kiyoshi. I don't think he will be very well received."

The War Minister was endeavoring to appoint AOKI, Kazuo as the Vice-Chief of the Planning Bureau, but there was no approval from BABA as yet. Even if BABA approved, TAKI would not give a favorable reply. I told KONOYE of my telephone conversation with TAKI in which I said: "AOKI will have to be appointed by all means. First of all, you yourself are not very capable of handling administrative matters. If a dependable person is not placed under you, it will disturb the necessary equilibrium." I used rather strong words and asked KONOYE to remember this.

I returned home and there was a telephone call from KONOYE again that night. KONOYE said: "According to the Chief Cabinet Secretary, FUNADA was chosen as the Chief of the Legislation Bureau." I replied: "FUNADA knows a lot of people, but there is criticism concerning his character. I have heard things from various quarters up till now, but because he is handy, there are also accompanying hazards." KONOYE said: "I hear such things

from various quarters, but it cannot be helped because they say that it has already been decided."

On the morning of the next day, I visited the Premier at his private residence again. I said: "There are various arguments concerning the selection of State Councillors, but if a Conference before the Imperial presence is going to be petitioned, the line-up may not be too favorable. However, how about including such men as the former Premier in this group?" The Premier replied: "That isn't very good. I believe the public will make greater fun of it." The Premier did not approve of this, so I did not believe that it was necessary to force it upon him. FUNADA's case was also mentioned and the Premier seemed considerably troubled.

I returned and called the Chief Cabinet Secretary on the telephone. I said: "The problem of FUNADA is not very great, but it is very annoying. Can't you do anything about it?" I also said to the Chief Secretary: "Both you and the Premier have futures. A pretty good man will have to be chosen as the Chief of the Legislation Bureau because he will be closely connected with the Premier." The Chief Cabinet Secretary said that it was already roughly settled, so I did not press matters any further.

On the night of the 6th, I invited the War Minister and ARITA to my relative's home in Azabu and we conversed on various subjects for four hours while dining. I also called IMAIDA on the telephone. The Premier was supposed to meet Gen. UGAKI on the 7th, so I asked IMAIDA to have Gen. UGAKI, who had completely different ideas from HIRANUMA, ARAKI, and SUETSUGU, talk to KONOYE

so that he would calm down.

I met the Finance Minister on the morning of the 7th at his official residence. I said: "I would like to place men like AOKI close to the Premier and to have him correct the Premier's erroneous impressions concerning the Army. Again, I would like to prevent the intervention of FUNADA." The Finance Minister talked of various people, and then we parted.

I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal on the morning of the 8th, and we parted after talking of events of the past week. The Lord Keeper seemed terribly worried about the problem of the amnesty proclamation. He was also very concerned about international problems and was worried about the tendencies in the recent League, the proclamation of the British Government and the statement of the President of the United States.

I then met the Foreign Minister who said: "The War Minister clearly stated to the American reporters of the United Press and Associated Press: 'Japan had absolutely no territorial ambitions in China. Foreign capital for the development of China is welcomed.' If the War Minister had revealed this a little sooner, it would have been much better."

The British Ambassador came to the Foreign Minister's residence and said: "England vaguely revealed the conditions set forth by Japan to CHIANG Kai-shek and Madame CHIANG interpreted this. Although he (CHIANG) was not very much opposed to other conditions, he was in bitter disapproval of the establishment of a demilitarized zone. Madame CHIANG also disapproved and the British Ambassador to China suggested that a restriction in the length of

time be placed in the demilitarized zone."

I was scheduled to leave for Okitsu on the 11th, so I wanted to meet the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. However, I was not feeling well and asked the Lord Keeper to send MATSUDAIRA, his Chief Secretary to my place. Before coming, MATSUDAIRA listened to stories from various people. Among them, he learned that the Army (Tientsin Army and Kwantung Army) would hand over the development of North China to the industrialists and would withdraw completely from economics and finance. They realized the need for capitalistic economy. They wanted AIKAWA, Gisuke in Manchukuo and TSUDA, Shingo and KOBAYASHI, Ichizo in North China."

MATSUDAIRA related the same things which the Foreign Minister had said a few days ago.. He said: "The War Minister met the American reporters of the Associated Press and United Press and went so far as to say that Japan had no territorial ambitions in China. The foreign correspondents were very surprised and asked why he had not said such things sooner. If he had done so, the President would not have made such harsh statements."

MATSUDAIRA continued: "Premier KONOYE and the Lord Keeper argued for an hour and a half about the Imperial Proclamation of Amnesty. KONOYE somehow felt that, philosophically speaking, social evils always existed in this world. The reason why incidents such as those of Feb. 26 and May 15 arose against the capitalistic ills and monopolistic evils were because of the instigators' genuine belief that they wanted to execute this for the benefit of the nation and for society. It is a motive which arises from the desire to erase social evils.

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Therefore, if the Emperor does not consider the whole situation and has no intention of impartially pardoning such motives, justice will not be preserved.

"There were various other arguments but in the end they decided that further discussions were necessary, and parted. Although it was actually not a quarrel, they argued quite a bit. According to KONOYE's opinion, there was a set of laws based on the constitution, etc., of certain organizations such as countries and societies. Social order was being barely preserved by this. If all acts of violence were permitted, considering that the motives were good, the result would be that there would be no laws or preservation of peace and order. Therefore, no matter how good the motives were, they would be punished upon infraction of any law. Thus, for the first time would justice be generally decided and public peace preserved. There is a great difference from the philosophers' and Buddhists' standpoint and the statesmen's viewpoints towards the country, and the men delegated with the responsibility of governing the country. It seems as if KONOYE doesn't bear this in mind."

I called Premier KONOYE by phone on that day and said: "Did you meet UGAKI?" KONOYE replied: "I talked with him for over two hours at my home in Mejiro. UGAKI agreed to become a State Councillor." KONOYE seemed quite cheerful, so I presumed that things went smoothly and I was glad.

I then went to Okitsu on the 11th and met the Prince on the 12th. I reported minutely on the details of the last four days. The Prince said: "I would somehow like to see the checking of this amnesty proclamation. KONOYE's

future will become very dark and considering his position, it will be very regrettable to have him end up as the puppet of the Rightists. KONOYE must grow a great deal more and he must become the leader of an enlightened government." He thought it extremely regrettable that he should become the puppet of the Rightists, contrary to all of his wishes.

Prince SAIONJI continued: "Considering the good of the public, this is absolutely outrageous when we consider the Premier's responsibility towards the State. It is bad to have utter disregard for the Constitution, etc., and to destroy everything." He had a few doubts concerning the State Councillors, and said: "Regarding this, it depends on the choice of suitable persons."

Concerning the termination of hostilities between Japan and China, he, as usual, said: "What is going to happen? What are they planning to do?" The Prince's anxiety concerning this problem was of the greatest degree and he was very worried about this. I said: "If UGAKI is going to be a State Councillor, we will have him soothe KONOYE and aid him as much as possible. I will talk to him thoroughly so that there will be no mistake."

I returned after that and because this would become an annoying problem I tried to think of ways in which I could meet UGAKI. After I returned to Oiso, I learned that IKEDA, Seihin was finally chosen to be one of the State Councillors. When KONOYE was called by telephone from Okitsu, KONOYE first said: "They will make undesirable comments about IKEDA being connected with MITSUI and so forth so I will not appoint him." However, he changed his mind and said later that IKEDA was to be

appointed. We also thought that if possible, it was better to have men like IKEDA appointed.

I went to Oiso, and visited IKEDA. We conversed on various topics and I returned home for supper. After supper, there was a telephone call from YAMASHITA and he said: "There is someone I want you to meet. Will you come?" I was about to retire, but I hurried to YAMASHITA's villa and saw Gen. UGAKI dining with YAMASHITA. I had not met Gen. UGAKI for about two years because the public was opposed to him and I did not desire unnecessary trouble. Therefore, we talked at length for the first time and I related Prince SAIONJI's opinions. I said: "When you become a State Councillor, I want you to calm down and aid KONOYE so that he will not err unnecessarily." I returned late that night.

On the morning of the 14th, I met the Navy Minister and questioned him concerning the problem of the amnesty declaration. He said that the Army is definitely opposed. I told him of the telephone message which reached me while I was staying at Oiso and said: "Regarding the Feb. 26 Incident, the Army is saying that there is the matter of the Imperial Rescript which was given to the War Minister (condemning the unauthorized utilization of the Army). When we consider that, we will never be able to approve amnesty." The Navy Minister said: "Actually, the Army seems strongly opposed to this."

When I called the War Minister on the phone, the War Minister said that he had met Home Minister BABA. The War Minister said that he planned to meet with the Premier immediately and express his opposition to the amnesty problem and gave his reasons. Home Minister BABA asked

him to refrain from meeting the Premier for a little while longer. It seems as if he hasn't met him yet.

When I met KIDO, he said that he had met KONOYE. According to KONOYE, he said that the Ministers seemed to be in agreement, in general.

On the night of the 14th, I went to the Palace of Prince TAKAMATSU from 7:30. Prince CHICHIBU was scheduled to return on the 15th, so before that, I planned to inform him of the actual political situation of recent days. I talked with Prince TAKAMATSU for approximately two hours and told him about everything. The Prince understood the situation very well and said: "When Prince CHICHIBU returns on the 15th, will you talk to him as soon as possible?"

I returned immediately and said to Intendant IMAMURA: "I would like to meet the Prince as soon as he returns."

I met the Foreign Minister on the 15th, but there was no important news. I met SHIRATORI for the first time in a long while and he insistently said: "It is not well to have territorial ambitions in China. Admiral SUETSUGU is in favor of it, but it is not good. We must have China as our ally."

I questioned the Chief of the Metropolitan Police on problems concerning public peace and order. The Chief said: "On the whole, the Rightists are depending on Premier KONOYE and they have calmed down a little."

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